

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 12345

FOR OASD/ISA ABRAMOWITZ

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, JA, OVIP (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)

SUBJ: SECDEF VISIT -- MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER MIKI

1. EMBASSY TRANSMITS SUMMARY OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S HALF-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER TAKEO MIKI ON AUGUST 29, BASED ON NOTES TAKEN AT THE MEETING BY MR. ABRAMOWITZ. THIS SUMMARY HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE REVIEW AND REVISION AS MAY BE REQUIRED FOR OFFICIAL RECORD OF THIS MEETING.
2. PRIMIN MIKE OPENED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF HIS COMPLETE SATISFACTION WITH HIS SUMMIT MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT FORD, FOR THEIR CANDOR AND THEIR REFLECTION OF THE FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL TRUST IN THE RELATIONSHIP. THE SECRETARY BESPOKE THE PRESIDENT'S AFFECTION FOR MR. MIKI AND HIS STRONG FEELING THAT THE MIKI VISIT HAD BEEN HELPFUL.
3. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE THOUGHT IN THE PAST THERE HAD BEEN TOO FEW FULL SECURITY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT WE WILL HENCEFORTH HAVE ONE A YEAR. HE ASKED THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS ON THE SECURITY SITUATION IN KOREA, WHICH IS JAPAN'S MAIN SECURITY
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CONCERN. THE SECRETARY ENDORSED THE PLAN TO INSTITUTIONALIZE OUR SECURITY DIALOGUE WITH ANNUAL MEETINGS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. CONCERNING KOREA, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE UNDERSTANDABLE IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN OF THE KOREAN INTEREST. HE REFERRED

TO THE FEARS LOOSED BY THE FALL OF VIETNAM, PARTICULARLY IN KOREA, AND SAID THERE WAS A NEED FOR THE U.S. TO REITERATE ITS COMMITMENTS IN KOREA, WHICH HAD A CALMING EFFECT. HE SAID WE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE MILITARY BALANCE AS A DETERRENCE AGAINST THE NORTH KOREANS. HE SAID THE SOUTH KOREANS ARE PREPARED TO DEAL ON THEIR OWN WITH THE NORTH KOREAN PROBLEM AND NEED ONLY TIME, BUT THEY ARE NOT CAPABLE OF DEALING WITH THE CHINESE AND THE SOVIETS: WE MUST GIVE THEM THAT ASSURANCE. HE SAID THE ROKG IS DOING WHAT IT SHOULD FOR MILITARY PREPAREDNESS TO MAINTAIN THE BALANCE. ROK EQUIPMENT, HOWEVER, HAS BECOME SOMEWHAT OBSOLETE: WHILE THIS IS NOT OF CONCERN AS LONG AS THE U S IS THERE, THE ROK NEEDS BETTER EQUIPMENT. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT TO THE EXTENT THAT JAPAN CAN HELP THE ROK WITH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE--NOT MILITARY ASSISTANCE--THIS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY.

4. MIKI STATED THAT ON AUGUST 29 THE GOJ REACHED DECISION TO HOLD A MINISTERIAL MEETINGS WITH THE ROKG ON SEPTEMBER 14, WHEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL DISCUSS THE MATTER OF ASSISTANCE. MIKI SAID JAPAN CAN HELP IN FIELDS OTHER THAN MILITARY. HE FELT THAT U.S./ROK SCM COMMUNIQUE PROMISING STRONG ASSISTANCE WILL GREATLY ENCOURAGE THE ROK. HE SAID IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT WE (A) MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE, AND (B) REDUCE NORTH-SOUTH TENSIONS AND FEARS. NO MAJOR CONFLICT IS REALISTICALLY LIKELY, BUT THERE IS ALWAYS DANGER OF MISCALCULATION FROM THE EXCESSIVE FEARS OF BOTH SIDES. THE SECRETARY'S VISIT WAS VERY SIGNIFICANT ON THE ROK SIDE IN REDUCING SUCH FEARS AND AVOIDING MISCALCULATIONS.

5. MIKE WENT ON TO OBSERVE THAT IN FURTHERANCE OF MUTUAL TRUST DISCUSSION IS ESSENTIAL: WITHOUT TRUST SECURITY TREATY CANNOT FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY. HE SAID JAPANESE PEOPLE HAVE COMPLEX FEELINGS ON SECURITY MATTERS, ON WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN THINKING MORE SERIOUSLY SINCE VIETNAM. THE SAME TREND IS VISIBLE IN THE DIET AND IT IS WELCOME. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED WITH HIS AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLEX JAPANESE FEELINGS ON SECURITY, AND HE SAID BECAUSE OF THIS COMPLEXITY IT IS UP TO THE PRIME MINISTER TO DETERMINE THE PACE. HE SAID THE U S SIDE WOULD ASSIST AS THE JAPANESE SIDE MIGHT WANT IN A QUIET MANNER.

6. MIKI RAISED THE POST-VIETNAM SITUATION IN ASIA, SAYING THAT ASIAN COUNTRIES FEEL A NEED TO STRENGTHEN THEIR OWN INTERNAL SYSTEMS, STABILIZE THEIR POLITICAL SITUATIONS AND IMPROVE POPULAR WELFARE. THEY RECOGNIZE PROBLEMS BEGIN AT HOME. MILITARY SECURITY IS IMPORTANT BUT CANNOT BE CONSIDERED IN ISOLATION FROM OTHER FACTORS. HE SAID HE DOES NOT FEEL ASIAN COUNTRIES ARE DRIFTING AWAY FROM THE U S HOPES U S WILL NOT MAKE RASH JUDGEMENTS ON WHERE ASIAN COUNTRIES ARE

GOING, AND HOPES U S WILL ENCOURAGE ASIAN COUNTRIES TO STRENGTHEN THEIR INTERNAL SITUATIONS. BOTH THE U S AND JAPAN SHOULD ACT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR ASIAN COUNTRIES.

7. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AGREED WITH THESE COMMENTS. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND WELFARE ARE VITAL, BUT SO IS PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE. THUS KOREA HAS PROSPERED OVER 25 YEARS BUT NEEDS SUPPORT FROM JAPAN AND THE U S IF KOREA DOES NOT RECEIVE THIS SUPPORT, IT WILL BE A SMALL POWER IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT. WE WILL NOT MAKE RASH JUDGEMENTS. VN CAN EVEN HAVE FAVORABLE RESULTS IF IT BRINGS RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR DOMESTIC IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT. WE ALSO NEED, HOWEVER, TO WORK TOWARD IMPROVED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

8. MIKE SAID THE SECURITY OF THE ROK AND PEACE ON THE PENINSULA ARE IMPORTANT TO JAPANESE SECURITY, A FACT OBVIOUS IF FOR NO OTHER REASON BECAUSE OF GEOGRAPHIC CLOSENESS.

HE SAID HE POINTED THIS OUT TO THE OPPOSITION IN THE DIET WHEN THEY ASKED IF HE WAS GOING TO WASHINGTON TO REAFFIRM THE NIXON-SATO "KOREA CLAUSE". HE SAID, "WE FEEL IT IN OUR BONES". THE SECRETARY SAID THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT U S FORCES WILL REMAIN IN KOREA. HE SAID THERE WILL NOT BE ANY ATTEMPTS TO BRING ABOUT REDUCTIONS AT LEAST BEFORE 1977, AND EVEN THEN, SHOULD THERE BE A CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATIONS, THE SECRETARY SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT ANY SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN U S DEPLOYMENTS OR POLICY. CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE MAY BE SOME MINOR CHANGES IN UNITS, BUT THE GENERAL LEVEL WILL BE THE SAME. THE SECRETARY REVIEWED BRIEFLY THE SITUATION ALSO IN THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES.

9. MIKE SAID HE DOES NOT FEEL THAT NORTH KOREA WILL INVADE THE SOUTH: WE NEED ONLY TO AVOID DOMESTIC TURMOIL OR DISLOCATION IN THE SOUTH. THE SECRETARY AGREED THAT AS LONG AS THE MILITARY BALANCE EXISTS NORTH KOREA IS UNLIKELY TO MISCALCULATE. NORTH KOREANS ARE TRYING TO FOSTER INTERNAL DISORDERS IN ROK AND SUCH WEAKNESSES MAY PRESENT DANGERS. PERHAPS ROK'S GREATEST INTERNAL STRENGTH HAS BEEN ITS THRIVING ECONOMY. WE NEED TO PREVENT A RECESSION WHICH COULD AFFECT POLITICAL STABILITY, AND FOR THIS THE KOREANS NEED CONTINUED EXTERNAL SUPPORT. REFERRING TO SUGGESTIONS OF RAPPROACHMENT THROUGH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, THE SECRETARY SAID DETENTE IN KOREA WOULD CERTAINLY BE WELCOME. NORTH KOREA, HOWEVER, HAS NOT ACCEPTED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE ROK. AS LONG AS NORTH KOREA BELIEVES IT HAS A LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO TAKE OVER THE SOUTH, THERE SEEMS LITTLE CHANCE FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS. IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT EXTERNAL FORCES CAN HELP. THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT TO THE EXTENT WE PROVIDE THE ROK SUPPORT AND REDUCE THEIR FEARS OF

ABANDONMENT, THE PRESSURES FOR GREATER DOMESTIC CONTROL WILL BE ALLEVIATED. HE SAID THE U S IS AN AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AS JAPAN. PRIME MINISTER MIKI SAID JAPAN WOULD MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE ROK DESPITE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS THE ROK POLITICAL SYSTEM PRESENTS FOR JAPAN.

10. EMBASSY REQUESTS COPY OF FINAL RECORD SUMMARY OF THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH PRIMIN. ALSO SUGGEST COPIES BE SENT TO SEOUL, COMUSJAPAN, CINCPAC (POLAD), IN ADDITION TO WASHINGTON DISTRIBUTION.
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